
A SHORT PLEA, &c.

L. E.

SHORT & PLEA

BOLK

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1578/175

(3.)

SHORT PLEA
FOR
HUMAN NATURE
AND
COMMON SENSE.

In which it is attempted to State a few general
Principles for the Direction of our Judgment
of the IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

BY A

LAY PROTESTANT.

Nothing extenuate
Nor fet down aught in Malice.

SHAKESPEARE.

D U B L I N:

Printed by P. BYRNE, No. 108, GRAFTON-STREET,

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D, MCC, LXXXVII,

SHORT PLATE

FOR

HUMAN NATURE

COMMON SENSE

In which is contained a new and
improved system of the
art of reasoning, and the
art of writing, as they relate to
the human mind.

By JOHN LOCKE

London, Printed by J. Sturges, in the Strand, 1704.

Price 1s.

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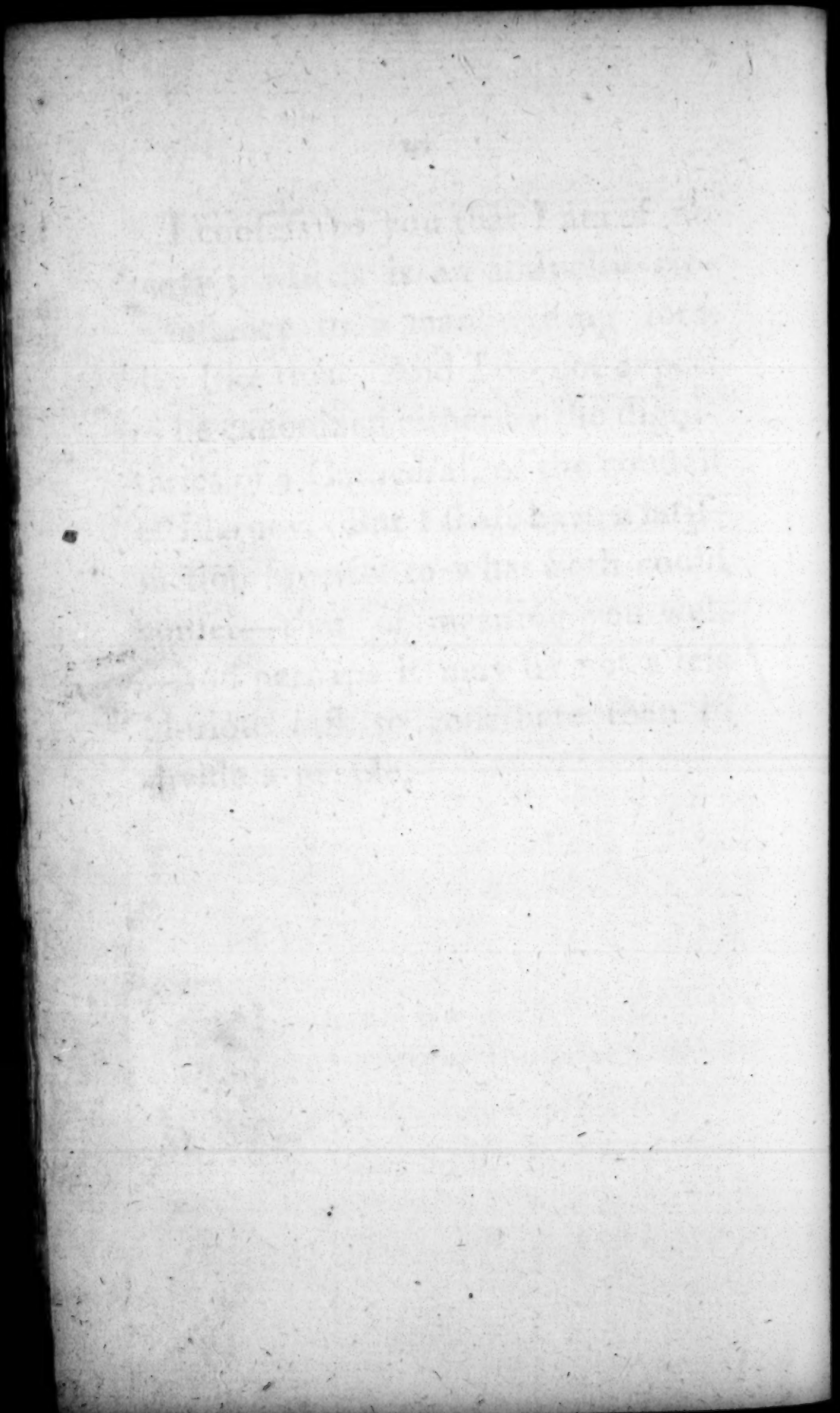
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

Countrymen!

THE little work I offer to you was undertaken “on the spur of the occasion,” to reconcile and unite you. Ye see it is summary. Indeed this is not a moment for voluminous disquisitions; and it would have kept both you and me too long to wait for them. If ye understand me it will be sufficient, for, possibly, ye may then understand one another somewhat the better.

I confess

I confess to you that I am of no party ; which is an unlucky circumstance to a man writing for a day like this. And I do not expect to be canonized either by the dignitaries of a Cathedral, or the council at Blarney. But I shall have a satisfaction superior to what both could confer—that of meaning you well—and perhaps it may be not a less glorious task to conciliate than to divide a people.



A SHORT PLEA, &c.

AT a time, pregnant like this, with consequences that must be of the last importance to the people and the constitution of Ireland:—At a moment when the whole attention of the public is absorbed in controversy, or involved in politics, it is an adventurous task for one unpracticed in the arts of composition, and pretending to no more knowledge than ought to be possessed by every man who loves his country, to obtrude his thoughts upon the world. A prudent man would consider the danger that should threaten him:—A politic man would calculate

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the advantages he might gain:—Self-interest would probably dictate submission to the government and confidence in the administration—fear might repress truth—temerity might advance falsehood—a mistaken zeal, political or religious, might deceive the understanding or influence the judgment, so that it is ten to one that a wise man would rather keep his opinions to himself, than venture them to the combated or rejected, criticised, tortured, and condemned, merely for the sake of appearing an author.

I profess this is not my ambition.—There are authors enough in the world already; and so many of them, whom a man could scarcely wish to emulate, that the matter of authorship by no means carries that distinction with it, which was attached to the character, when no men wrote for the public but those who had abilities to deserve the public attention, and Addison himself would spare time to revise his manuscripts.

BUT

BUT the contests and disturbances begun in this country about Tithes, Tithe Proctors, Tithe Farmers, and the pretended exactions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and continued with charges of sedition and disaffection, if not of treason, against a numerous majority of our fellow subjects, has drawn to that period, when it is every man's duty to exert himself for the restoration of that harmony, in which we were become a happy and a respected people.

To refute at length all the arguments that are urged against the Roman Catholics, is neither my business nor my inclination. But the same principle of toleration that ought to protect me in a Catholic country is due to a Catholic in this: All I contend for, is, that the people of that persuasion have not forfeited their claim to it.

It will perhaps be objected that, obedience and protection being correlative, no people can deserve the one, while they refuse to render the other to the laws of their country, and it will,

doubtless, be asserted that the peasantry in the South of Ireland come under this description. Be it so. But in considering the conduct of the Irish peasantry it should seem essentially necessary for a liberal discussion of the subject to abstract the idea of the men from that of their religion, unless we have pregnant proof that their civil misconduct is in consequence of religious bigotry. But this is not an age of fanaticism. We find, that, even in those countries where the Roman Catholics have all the power of persecution in their hands, they have imbibed that generous liberality, which disdains to use such a weapon to forward the interests of religion, or punish a difference in speculative opinions. To charge the religion with our present disturbances, we must first be able to demonstrate that the persons engaged in them act under its directions or according to its tenets. If we fail in this we must in honesty search for the cause of them somewhere else. We must attribute them either to a general disposition in the lower order of people in this country to riot and disorder.—To the oppressions, under which they labour—the neglects,
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by which they are discountenanced; or that universal poverty that as yet has prevented us from employing them sufficiently in manufactures and commerce to let them taste the sweets of industry and wealth,

THE plain reason is easily found in the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry. Were they Protestants of any denomination that poverty would or might be the same. It happens accidentally that they are for the most part Roman Catholics, and the same principle that raised the Oak Boys (a body of Protestant insurgents) in the North, prompted the Right Boys in the South to outrages as violent against the very divines of their religion as they practised upon the professors of a doctrine, which it is insinuated they think to be accursed.

THERE is one objection however urged against Roman Catholics that, "despotic states have always found in the Papal authority a congenial system of arbitrary dominion" (a) whence, and from

(a) Present state of the Church of Ireland, 8th Ed. p. 17.

from many other laboured arguments, it is inferred that "the Roman Catholics cannot, as a body, be entitled to national confidence under a Protestant Government." (b) We are told with great solemnity that *the government of France is an arbitrary and Popish government, and that Britain is a Protestant state and therefore free*. There are many examples in favour of this objection and many against it. Such as occur to me I shall state. The intention of this little work is not to run into historical discussions. If it were I believe the proposition above mentioned would appear in a light, not quite so respectable or serious as those who assert it might wish. But let us shortly examine, in examples near home, what are the reasons of those combinations; we have formed between Papal authority in matters of faith and

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(b) Ibid. 27. There would be no need of this destruction if it were true that they held the deposing power. And no government in Europe, Protestant or Catholic except the Papal one would be safe in permitting to live under it a large body of people that should be always ready to destroy it.

arbitrary power in matters of policy it may be curious to enquire where that inveterate connection existed, from which two mighty states have respectively appeared the patrons of slavery or freedom in the Western World, until in modern times we found policy shifting to different causes, and the *Popish despotism* of France joined an American resolution, against the *Protestant liberality* of the British government.

IN the earlier ages of the French Monarchy, the feudatory vassals of the crown enjoyed a degree of power and exercised a measure of insolence toward their sovereigns of which the conduct of Modern Europe will furnish no example. Descended from "that Northern Hive that had" "dispersed its swarms over the West of Europe" they inherited all the rude ferocity and sturdy independence of their Scythian Ancestors. The great lords held their immediate dependents in strict obedience, more by their hospitality and bravery, than by any weak assertion of inviolate allegiance, or necessary submission. The vassals, accustom-

accustomed, during their wars to look up to their immediate lords, seldom considered the common sovereign, but as their assertion of his cause brought honour to their leaders. And a Duke of Burgundy, Bretagne, or Normandy, could, at any time, with the assistance of those powerful Combinations, that were always ready to be formed, enter the lists against his Prince, and secure peace or obtain immunities the undisputed reward of successful rebellion.

SEVERAL circumstances, however, concurred by degrees to change the system of that government. The rage of crusading that broke out in France about the twelfth century brought great accessions of power to the crown by carrying off vast numbers of the most turbulent subjects and their leaders; and by the great number of the estates of the nobility, which devolved to the crown, for want of Heirs to those who died abroad. The policy of the French Kings, ever awake to enlarge their authority, took advantage of every division among the chief vassals of the crown, and found in every accession of strength,

strength, the most effectual means of obtaining new power. Those formidable connections that had enabled individuals to shake the throne were felt and feared no more ; and the crown found an easy conquest over partial insurrections. Where a Dutchy or a Province was subdued, it was by a fiction restored to the crown as a part of the empire until by right of cession, conquest, forfeiture, or inheritance, the whole kingdom of France owned the right of its sovereign, and every ray of power was concentrated in his person.

DURING the divisions that happened in France under the weak government of Francis the Second, when the Bourbon and Montmorenci families wished to wrest his usurped authority from the Duke of Guise, it is true that Hugonotism was made use of to bring strength to the disaffected party, and from that time to the reign of Henry the Fourth, the reformed nobility could call armies of Hugonots to the standard of rebellion. But the massacres and assassinations, that marked those unhappy disputes, are not
safely

safely to be relied on to shew that either side should now be exclusively entitled to the characteristics of murder or treachery. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew is to charge this disposition on the Papists. The assassination of the Duke of Guise by Poetrot, at the instigation of Admiral Coligni, the Protestant leader, is in turn charged upon that sect. Another Duke of Guise was basely murdered, as was the Cardinal his brother, by order of Henry the Third a Protestant Prince, in his palace, and under his eye, because they headed the Roman Catholic party. These are dismal recitals and want only the pen of an enthusiast or a zealot to make them horrible. But let us turn to the better side of human nature and rejoice to contrast an Henry the Fourth with an Henry the Third. After his country had been drenched in blood to gratify the ambition, extravagance, or zeal, of a Bourbon, a Conde, and a Guise, and to exalt or depress the Hugonots or the Leaguers, he turned Roman Catholic to secure the allegiance and affection of his people. Where he became safe, absolute, and arbitrary, he published the famous

Edict

Edict of Nantz, which secured the Protestants the free exercise of their religion. The tolerance of his principles drew on him the dagger of Ravilliac an enthusiast : but his toleration of a religion different from his own, did not render his government less absolute or encrease the civil liberty of his subjects. The papal authority in temporals is now renounced by the whole French Nation and we do not find that the spirit of freedom is more widely diffused, than when his holiness exerted the power of deposing its sovereigns.

IN England the distribution of all the landed property by William the Conqueror into a vast number of knights fees, confirmed that universal subjection, which the vassals of a feudal monarch by virtue of their tenures owed them. No great subject, too powerful for subordination could renounce his allegiance, and the prince found it a matter of little difficulty, to repress and punish any troublesome spirit of resistance that occasionally shewed itself. In time however, and by degrees, the great lords finding resistance

ance a common cause, gathered strength sufficient to withstand the usurpations of the Monarch, and, when John had exhausted their patience and confidence, to bestow the crown upon a Foreigner. They had obtained Magna Charta, in which the liberties of the people as well as the lords were confirmed and defined : for the people had felt and asserted their weight in the contests between the crown and the barons. Parliaments became the bulwarks of the constitution, and arbitrary power was withering under the blossoms of liberty, when the Prince and his subjects had but one religion, and no one then discovered that Popery was a weed noxious to the growth of freedom.

IN after times, when the limits of prerogative and the extent of liberty were narrowed or enlarged by despotism and licentiousness, we find their variations did *not* in any shape depend on Popery or its influence Henry the VIIIth, when he shook off the Papal supremacy was the veriest tyrant that ever lived. Elizabeth who never owned it, was in the highest indulgence of Protestantism

testantism, more tyrannical and arbitrary than even her sister Mary, and equally so with her brother-in-law Philip, the greatest bigot of his time. And still the objection that Popery and despotism are twin brethern, and that freedom and the reformation sprang from the same womb, is urged with as much obstinacy as if it had been dictated by the very genius of truth.

BUT I should wish that the political accouchers who have delivered this famous conception would answer me,

How comes it that the republic of Genoa, a Popish republic, and in Italy itself is purely aristocratical?

WHY is Venice, another Popish and Italian republic, subject to the same kind of government?

WHY are they Calvinists in Prussia and in Hesse, and why throughout 300 absolute governments in the Germanic empire, is not Protestantism found

found more friendly to freedom than the religion of Bellarmin ?

How happens it that Poland is a republic where the Roman Catholic religion is followed with enthusiasm ?

WHY is Sweden an arbitrary Lutheran monarchy ?

How has it come about in Moravia where the Jews would from their numbers appear really terrific to a man of modern British apprehensions and niceties, that the people are not afraid either of the circumcision or the denial of pork ?

It is an hard task to support paradox and to reconcile contradiction. Who can seriously believe a man who tells him, that the Popish principle is *slavery, passive obedience and non-resistance*, and in the same breath exclaims that it is *rebellion, disobedience to the government, resistance, and sedition* ? Who can seriously listen to charges of palpable ignorance and falsehood against the Roman
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man Catholic divines, and hear at the same time that they propagate their religion against all the united powers of learning, eloquence, gospel truth, against all the authoretative sanction of the laws, and the whole influence of government. Who can sit patiently to be told that in modern France a country in which the Hugonot cause spilled so much blood, public arrests and the process of civil law founded on them, are always published and prosecuted for the avowed purpose of *preserving the peace and constitution of the country* : That the Spanish inquisition, which makes a part of the municipal law, and is not a constituent of the Catholic institute, is grounded on an affection for the *peace of the state* : that a law in Ireland, to hang a Priest for worshipping God in his own way, was a measure highly conducive to our political safety? and that these respective laws were in Spain and France, downright persecution, whilst the genial warmth of Irish gratitude should in this country bestow upon the penal statute we have mentioned a decisive character of most liberal toleration.

THE fact is that in this and the sister country the combination of Popery with despotic power is of modern contrivance. A Popish prince assumed, and attempted to exercise, powers forbidden by the constitution : and that term so hateful to the human mind—slavery, slavery was gladly annexed to Popery to render it odious. But the foundation, by which this monster was supported was fortuitous. Had James the second been a Protestant, he would still have been a tyrant, and perhaps in the uncertainty of human revolutions we might now in defence of Popery and freedom, be adducing the examples of Denmark and Sweden, to oppose the growth of the Protestant religion.

THE decency too of this objection might perhaps afford room for animadversions not the most favourable in the world, when it is urged by a dignitary of the established church ; a body in general remarkable for as compliant an accommodation with the dispositions of its head, in all *political* matters as the Romanists can be charged with, in matters of *faith* to theirs : and liberty may be undermined as well as overturned.

WHEN

WHEN we indulge in reveries “ full of offence and trouble ” against practices or opinions, we ought first to try if the scandal we charge on them will not apply to our own. A good Protestant in Ireland, whose religion propagates toleration, would blush in the contemplation of his forefathers’ conduct, when hypocrisy, treachery and ambition, prompted them in Ireland to renew those scenes, which the same principles had before exhibited in Mexico and Peru. And, feeling an honest detestation of so unwarrantable a system, he would not wantonly charge his neighbours and brethren with inheriting from their fathers, principles not more obnoxious or unchristian, than he disclaimed in his own. No ; he would confess, that if the purity of the Protestant doctrines were not impeachable for the villanies of individuals among their followers, the Roman Catholic religion should not be branded with approprium and obliquy, because some of her children were not exempted from vice.

A sincere christian might be cautious how, by imputing the conduct of men to their religi-

ous systems, he should give occasion to the enemies of christianity for those observations, that have already injured that cause not a little. When we so zealously charge each other with tenets, that we deny as they are respectively applied to ourselves, how good an example has the Deist to charge the whole christian world with, the possession of those vices that have been common to us all ! It was this sort of controversy that brought forward those highly wrought delineations of Constantine's villainies, that have been contrasted so artfully with the virtues of Julian, to shew by inuendo that apostacy was amiable, and that the christian religion had no influence in enforcing the moral duties..

In the course of this short enquiry it will, I trust, be made to appear, that *particularly in Ireland* the subjects of the Roman Catholic communion are at least equally entitled to our confidence and regard, with all other non-conformists ; and that all restrictions put on that body must be on a principle of rigid intolerance. Men of the Roman Catholic persuasion have disturbed

turbed the peace of the country—very true. But has their misconduct been in consequence of their religion? Who will prove that their religion promotes or sanctifies sedition? Are the present disturbances on account of Tithes, *discouraged* by the *whole* Protestant body in this kingdom, or by a *majority* of them? Or will even the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Cloyne himself deny, that the countenance afforded them by *Protestant gentry*, and the encouragement given them, by the supineness of the *Protestant magistracy*, has contributed to encrease their prevalence and their danger?

IF a Roman Catholic, ill disposed to the government, wished to rhapsodise upon the present situation of things in this country, what a field has been opened to him! How would he dwell on that wretched system of politics that ended in the alienation of America from Britain! With what malignity would he exult in exhibiting the attempts, that free and Protestant state, the patroness of liberty, and mother of toleration, made to fix the galling shackles of

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slavery

slavery on three millions of free men—free by all the laws of nature and reason—and free even upon the principle that was used to oppress them.—their participation of the British constitution. When we had done rebuking his religion with the Inquisition, and Lewis the XIVth's dragoons, how would he triumph in the retort of our star-chamber, and our obsolete penal statutes! And how justly might he balance the burning of Servetus at Geneva, by the influence of Calvin the Grand Inquisitor, with the burning of Hufs at Constance. What scope would his ingenuity not have to draw a parallel between our present situation, and that of the transatlantic continent a few years back, and to exhibit, as a mere pretext for the establishment of arbitrary power, those bug-bears that exist but in shadow, and whose substance has long since passed away.

I wish for the sake of a religion, to whose principles I am attached, that her warmer advocates had not, to make a rival hideous, shewn so many deformities in her own conduct—I wish for the sake of peace, and the confidence

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we professed in a government, for which I have all possible affection, that its partizans had not, by indulging the effusions of heated imagination, given room for such suspicions of its integrity. I wish for the sake of human nature, that two millions of brethren had not been again dragged to the stake to answer for practices, that they condemn, and for opinions that they disclaim. What shall we *gain* by reviving the charge that Popes gave licences for Polygamy? What shall we *lose* if Luther and Melancthon and Bucer gave a solemn written approbation to the Landgrave of Hesse to have two wives at a time? Or how will the cause of Protestantism suffer, if Spanheim should not have made it as clear as day light, that there was such a person as Pope Joan?

For my own part, if I were obliged to furnish reasons against the propriety of suffering Roman Catholics to live, to be educated, to enjoy the liberty of conscience in this country, and to be admitted to defend it, I believe they would be,

BECAUSE the service of the Mass is in latin; a
language

language which seven-eighths of the whole Roman Catholic church in this country understand *no better than English.*

BECAUSE they believe in the real presence; although, by the way, Calvin believed it (*c*) although numberless protestant divines defended it (*d*) and, although it is most positively asserted in our own church catechism. (*e*)

BECAUSE

(*c*) Calvin upon 1 Cor. 11, 14. Take eat this is my body —says— *neque enim mortis tantum et resurrectionis suæ benefecium offert Christus sed Corpus ipsum in quo passus est et resurrexerit.* Neither does Christ offer us the benefit only of his death and resurrection, but that very body itself in which he suffered and rose again.

(*d*) In Laud's conference with Fisher, § 35. p. 6. punct. 4. See Bishop Ridley's confession set down by Fox, p. 1598.—In the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Jesus Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, &c. Andrew's answer to Cardinal Bellarmine's apology, Ch. 8. p. 194.—*Rex Christum in Eucharista vere præsentem vere et adorandum statuit.*

(*e*) Quest. What is the inward part (of the Sacrament) or thing signified?

Answ. The body and blood of Christ which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.

Quest.

BECAUSE Bellarenin taught the infallibility of the Pope ; although this is not even mentioned in the definition of the council of Florence ; nor in the formula, which Pope Pius the IVth collected out of the council of Kent ; although Bellarmin himself owns five eminent doctors opposing the principle, although the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Sienna, Louvain, Cologne, Hertford, Vienna, Anson, Orleans, Toulouse, and Paris, together with seven and fifty single persons, among whom were Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the majority were Italians, all wrote against this infallibility, *uncensured by their Church*. And although it is neither proposed to the persons admitted of the Catholic Communion, nor has any place in any of the Romish Catechisms, intended for the general instruction of the people.

Quest. What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby ?

Ans. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

BECAUSE

BECAUSE confession, repentance, and the pardon of sins, form a part of their Church Discipline—and, yet, we allow of confession; and our rubric urges it—we approve of absolution; and it is practised in our Communion; and that absolution is in consequence of a contribution that must be equally sincere in their Church as in ours.

BECAUSE they preached obedience to a Government that oppressed them—they swore allegiance, and, in the worst of times, observed it to a prince who had been taught from his infancy to look on them as traitors.

BECAUSE they compose three parts out of four of the Irish people.

BECAUSE the majority of them had surnames, and indeed Christian names too as harsh to a British ear as Cheit Sing or Asoph ul Dorola. Who could trust a man of so unchristian an appellation as O'Rorke or O'Flagherty O'Shaughnessy or O'Driscoll.

BECAUSE

BECAUSE they are descended from the ancient inhabitants and ought therefore to be extirpated for not rejecting a mode of worship that was common to their forefathers as well as to ours for fifteen hundred years. Did not Philip the II^d. desolate the Netherlands? Did not the Spaniards depopulate Mexico and Peru? And why should not we magnify God's glory and the honour of our religion?

BECAUSE the Popes Alexander and Boniface were as bad men as the Kings Henry the VIIIth and Richard the III^d; and therefore the members of that Church cannot be as good subjects as we are, under the Government of King George the III^d.

IF the Roman Catholics were to be educated at home in the principles of Religion and Allegiance, we should no longer be able to charge the court of Rome with sending Missionaries and agitating Fryars amongst us and the story of a Popish Plot for the restoration of a warming-

warming-pan descendent of the house of Stuart would no longer gain credit.

IF Romanists were allowed to take arms for their King and country we should no longer have to lament that the battallions of Dillon and Walshe graced the armies and assisted the triumphs of a foreign and hostile nation, over the British banners.

WE have proved the religion to be antichristian by shewing the Pope to be Antichrist, which we have done by the clearest of all possible demonstrations, the Hebdomadal number of Daniel; and by the number of the beast in the revelations; which applies by our own reasoning with exactly the same precision and propriety to Martin Luther, and Lewis the XIVth. But we have further confirmed it by shewing this Antichrist to be *every individual Pontiff of Rome for three hundred years past.*

THE Roman Catholics consider marriage a sacrament and thereby burden with useless restrictions,

strictions, a ceremony that, by the influence of modern manners serves for little else, than to keep up a succession to estates and titles—to furnish employment to the Proctors and the Bookfellers with trials for adultery.

THEY pray as much as even our pious sovereign himself, by which they put us severely to the blush “amongst whom too many of the higher ranks discountenance all religion by entirely neglecting publick worship.” (f)

WE have held out to them every worldly temptation to conform, and yet, notwithstanding all the assistance of mental reservation and a justifiable violation of faith with Heretics (and that too in a matter peculiarly of religion (g) so obstinate

(f) See the Present State, &c. 7 Ed. 56.

(g) The Right Revd. Bishop of Cloyne makes a distinction, that I declare is incomprehensible to me. It is between “a breach of Faith with a man, who is an Heretic in the ordinary transactions of business, and with Heretics as such.” Present State 7 Ed. p. 10. If the Doctor had not apologized for the inaccuracies in his book, by the haste he was in to “sound the alarm while it was yet time” (Ibid p. 25.) one might

obstinate are they in their belief that they will not renounce it. So striking a proof of insincerity that such a people cannot be trusted.

BUT

might beg an explanation of the heresy of ordinary transactions, or how a man shall be orthodox in the intercourse of traffic, the payment of his rent, &c. But if his lordship intend a distinction between "a breach of faith in the ordinary transactions of business, with any man who is an Heretic, and "with Heretics as such," there will be a better because a more liberal principle on which to examine its meaning. The Prevalence of a Religion may be injured by the depression of its members : and this may be promoted almost in every *ordinary transaction* of consequence. The Israelits borrowed Jewels from the Subjects of Pharaoh, when quitting the land of Egypt, and violated their faith by not restoring them. Exod. cap. 11, and 12. This was an *ordinary transaction*. Ministers are now negotiating treaties of commerce with Foreign and Roman Catholic Powers ; and if the experience of all Europe had not falsified the Prediction, even his Lordship's Salvo would go but a short way to prevent those ungenerous apprehensions, that must smother in the very birth all confidence in those assurances, that treachery might violate under the sanction of religion. But thank God the faith of Nations stands upon another and a more reasonable principle. Policy and expedience are the foundation of their compacts. The confidence which merchants must mutually repose in each other, and which on the part of the Roman Catholics is not even alleged to have ever been violated on a religious score, is but poorly complimented when the Protestant trader of his country is taught that every Popish correspondent of his house is ready to take all the advantages

BUT I have no such intention as that of painting the Roman Catholics in all the colouring of disaffection, and revolt, of heresy, and error. We have been, I think, rather hasty in admitting positions and drawing conclusions. And it may be useful to the decision of our judgments to hear plain truth free from prejudice, and plain reason unhurt by sophistry, and unruffled by terror.

PERSONS have been of late too much in the habits of applying the old English reasons against

advantages that are comprehended in that most general of all propositions—*nulla fides servanda est cum hereticis*. And the foreign Protestant merchant must feel not very well pleased to find, that, in this country, the Roman Catholic trader is in no better a description of character, than all the punctuality with which he has been treated arose, not from principle, but policy, and that He waited only for a favourable opportunity to take advantage of the precept—*nulla fides servanda est cum hereticis*. But the weakness of this charge is now too manifest. Folio may be piled upon folio a battery against truth, as high as the tower of Babel—but they never will reach it.—I should not have dwelt so long on this objection but the Right Reverend Author takes it in the same way himself p. 25. of the Present State where he tells us how much “the security of the Protestant Proprietor of land depends on the Protestant ascendancy.”

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the toleration of Catholicks to the Irish of the present day that it will be useful to examine a little into the difference of situation between the ancient Roman Catholics of the country, and the moderns of this.

THE Romish Religion was, in Britain, attacked by arguments and reasons, and it was shaken by them. The accrimony of zeal was sharpened by Polemies : and all the resentment of a vanquished sect was kept awake by the reflection that a difference of religion robbed the contending rivals alternately of all their power. It was a contest in the beginning between the people, and the Crown was at last under a sort of necessity to take advantage of their divisions, by accommodating itself to their various successes. In Ireland the Roman Catholic Religion was displaced by Power, and the truth of the Gospel was not asserted by logic or Divinity, but left to be defended by Constables, Informers, and Hangmen. And the Protestant ascendancy was secured by referring the purity of its worship and belief to punishments and incapacities. But the

the Irish people had not to lament an exclusion from authority, which their faith would never have made them whole enough to enjoy, and which had uniformly been delegated to Foreigners ignorant of their tempers, their principles, and even their language. No Chieftain could boast the sacrifices he made—No Demagogue could trumpet the losses he had sustained by religious non-conformity.

IN England every revolution of politics was assisted and forwarded by the influence of religion. The French Court ever anxious to diminish or repress the rising rivalry of Britain, promoted with zeal every measure for her humiliation, and the disturbance of her Government : And by instigating the Catholics with the hope of ascendancy, rendered them a most troublesome part of the people. The Protestant subjects as anxiously embraced every opportunity to shake a sceptre that inclined toward Popery. The fabricated titles of Lady Jane Grey, and of Fetherstone the Pretender Mary's Diadem ; the petulant anxiety of Mary Queen of Scots ; the
various

various troubles occasioned by the ill attempted restoration of the house of Stuart—All rested on these principles. Catholicism and rebellion at last became correlative terms, and the Pope and the King of France were annually burned in effigy with the common enemy of mankind as the united foes of the British Constitution. In Ireland the people submitted with equal patience to all administrations of an Henry, an Elizabeth, a Mary and an Edward. Strangers alike to the persons and the affections of their Sovereigns, it was a matter of little moment, whether the head of their Church were in London or in Rome.

IN England and in Ireland too, until a spirit of liberality diffused itself amongst us the people of the Roman Catholic persuasion, laboured under great incapacities, and were subject to grievous punishments for exercising their religion—But still their conduct was that of a loyal people. And where is it in the principles of human action that we shall now look for an intention to subvert the government, when their religion
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is tolerated ; their persons are sacred ; their property is secure ? When, saving the exclusion from places of trust, and the right of representation, (two advantages that many honest, and many wise men think, according to modern refinements, not of all that real consequence attributed to them) they stand upon a footing of equality with the subjects of the established church ? Or can we, in a moment of profound peace, when all the machine of government, unclogged by foreign engagements, may be brought to operate with unity and effect against any particular object—when the resources of government are so various and productive, that even the prodigality of modern corruption can only exhaust them—when the people of this country have entrusted its government with a military force of sixteen thousand men—when the whole navy of Britain may display her flag, and carry her arms into every port and every creek of Ireland—Can we seriously charge the Roman Catholics with a well concerted design to overturn or undermine our constitution ? But Romish Missionaries and agitating Fryars

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could not otherwise help to support an argument, or to round a period; and there would have been wanting an opportunity to drag in by head and ears, the name and principles of a man who had preached obedience to the laws that doomed him to a gibbet. It is not for me to attempt a defence of Mr. O'Leary's doctrines or his practices.—They will defend themselves.—And it would be as arduous a task to write his eulogy, who has written it himself in characters of benevolence, patriotism, charity, learning, and eloquence, that shall blazon his name when his controversies are forgotten.

But to return.—The English legislature acted *prudently* in preventing the growth of Popery, when the Roman Catholics composed but a small part of the people. For the prevention of religious controversy contributed to preserve the general peace—they reasoned *fairly*, when, in viewing the conduct of a religious sect, who had been for many years turbulent and hostile, and in combining the ideas of religious non-conformity with political disaffection, they excluded its professors

feffors from places of confidence and authority ;
 and they acted *wisely* in disabling Roman Catholics from enjoying power, which they had a temptation to abuse, by restoring a Prince who would establish their religion. But do these reasons now exist ? What Pretender have they to set up ? What reasons of attachment have they to the unfortunate representative, if there be any such, of a family by whom they have suffered so much and benefited so little ? Do we fear that they could wish and endeavour to shake off their allegiance to a government, that has treated them with confidence and liberality, to try unproved experiments upon the generosity of any foreign power, with which no community of language—no intermixture of property—no ties of consanguinity unite them ? Or are we apprehensive that the bulk of the Irish people, hardy and uncouth as they are, would prefer French tyranny and French foppery, to the honourable participation of British freedom ? Are we fearful that some lineal descendant of the house of Noah, tracing a genealogy up to Adam, shall find more advocates in Ireland than

in Britain for the auto de fé or the inquisition? Or where shall we seek for this principle of disaffection which is to cut off two millions of fellow subjects from our confidence and regard? Where find the fugitive or usurper, to whom such a principle, if it existed, could with policy attach itself.

WHEN we are forced to seek men's purposes in their actions, we should first enquire what advantages they would derive from the success of those purposes we imputed to them; and secondly, whether their conduct be sufficiently systematic and consistent, to warrant the imputation of a purpose upon them. Let us look to the conduct of the Irish Catholics to go no further back—during the American war. Let us enquire by whom the present disturbances are abetted?—Against whom the insurgents direct their enmity?—And let us examine in all the ebullitions of insanity, and the machinations of mischief or treachery, the danger with which they threaten us. If we find that a people charged with designs against the constitution, have
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industriously suffered every favourable moment to pass them, and have waited for the most unpropitious hour, that sedition or wickedness could grasp at for its purposes ; we have a choice but of two decisions—either that they are innocent of such intentions, and therefore to be trusted as a safe and loyal body of people ; or that they want those advantages of design or prudence that could give them effect, and are therefore not to be feared by the friends of the established religion.

BUT here we should go a step higher, and look first into the doctrines of their church, and the principles of its members in the kingdom of Ireland.

WE charge them with holding a violation of faith with heretics, to be a duty of their religion. They deny it in open day, and appeal to their church catechism for their justification. They state in terms the tenets they hold in the doctrines they inculcate.

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WE charge them with asserting a power in the Pope to depose temporal princes, and absolve subjects from their allegiance. They say it is not a doctrine of their church, although it may be a favourite *opinion* of some ultramontane divines, and is supported by Cardinal Bellarmin: for that a great number of the Roman Catholic divines and dignitaries oppose it: that the whole Gallican church, which is a Catholic church, and not accused of heterodoxy, denies it: that the Irish prelacy of the Roman Catholic communion have disclaimed it, altho' they hold their obedience *in spirituals* to the See of Rome, and although a Pontiff of that See sent Henry the II. an Irish diadem of peacock's feathers. And they assert, that they do not hold it as a matter of opinion, but teach it as a matter of religion, that obedience is due to the temporal government.

However, we say, this power has been asserted by Gratian in his decrees, has been practised by many Popes, and has had the sanction of the councils of Lateran and Lyons. They answer,
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first, that Gratian's decrees are not a rule of faith. Secondly, that there is no rule of their church obliging them even to approve all that the Popes practise; (Bellarmin himself, though he asserts the Pope's infallibility *in Cathedra*, not exempting him from error *in fact*.) And thirdly, that the deposition of Frederic the II. in the first council of Lyons was a mere judicial sentence, which, though pronounced in a general council, is not a rule of faith, nor obligatory on the conscience; and that the third canon of Lateran is only a canon of discipline, and no more a rule of faith than the deposition of Frederic.

WE alledge, that the principles of the Irish Roman Catholics appear with sufficient evidence in the constant troublesome of their conduct to the government on all favourable occasions; and we adduce the disturbances under Elizabeth, James the I. Charles the I. and repeatedly since the revolution, to support us. They say, that this is a sophistical method of arguing from particulars; but they answer too, that the English
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themselves were equally troublesome under James the I. ; and that the Scotch, in 1715 and 1745, exhibited as strong proofs of rebellion as ever appeared in Ireland. They affirm, that the insurrection in London, in the year 1780, was more dangerous and more flagitious, than any thing that has happened in Ireland ; and they assert, that if the magistracy had been sufficiently active, all the disturbances complained of might have been quelled in the beginning ; or if the government took proper means, there might have been a sufficient number of dreadful examples made, to deter men from committing such outrages ; and his Lordship the Bishop of Cloyne would find, that “ a severe
 “ check or two from the military would dis-
 “ perse, and a few capital punishments would
 “ effectually quell them,” as it did the Northern rabble in 1763. But a nobleman of great weight, even from his private character and influence, and interested more deeply than any other man in the kingdom, by his *connection* with our Sovereign, to restore tranquility, was dispatched with the power and dignity of Privy Counsellor,

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the rank of Generalissimo in Munster, &c. &c. to traverse the Province with a concentration of authority, unusual in greater troubles.—The army were frequently ordered out with express orders *not to fire*—prisoners were taken in multitudes, and traitors were tried for misdemeanours, to be whipt at a cart's tail, and to deride the insufficiency of the laws in the weakness of their execution. Nothing was done, and men of sense and in authority were not ashamed to say, that they could do nothing in a country so over-run with Popish mobs and Romish missionaries.

I said that when we are driven to seek men's purposes in their conduct, we should measure their probability by the advantages they offer, to shew that they may—and the consistency with which they are conducted, to prove that they do—exist. If upon these principles I were to direct a man in the mode of conduct, that should justify an accusation of treachery, jealousy, or hatred, toward the people and the constitution—

stitution—I believe this would be the chart I should mark out for him to follow.

HE should be a clergyman—if dignified so much the better; because, as we observed before, there has constantly been found in that class, something strongly inimical to the spirit of freedom. The effect of any opinion depends much on the character or appearance of the man who gives it; and we all know the effect of a first impression.

HE should set out with professing the tenderest care for our glorious constitution in church and state, when neither the state nor the church was in danger, and he should insist upon the necessity of “founding the alarm while it is yet “time,” that the people may be properly terrified into a boundless reliance on the good intentions of government.

HE should assert persecutions that never happened to him, his friends, or the friends of his religion. He should exaggerate facts that his
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fancy formed, and paint them in all the colours his imagination should suggest, to make them terrible.

He should describe dangers that did *not* surround him, he should excite the wrath of one sect of people against another, that he might enforce the necessity of securing the first from extinction by suppressing the indulgences of the latter ; and that he might covertly defend the necessity of establishing a perpetual force throughout the kingdom, that should supply the defects of an annual mutiny bill by overrunning the country with an armed police instead of an armed soldiery.

He should, from principle, be attached to the dependence of Ireland on the power of Britain, and he should prove this by an anxious and constant discrimination between the *legislature* of that country, and the *government* of this.

He should be patronized by a courtier of great political

political influence, and a staunch friend to a national police.

HE should dwell somewhat on the declining power of the crown, and the necessity, for the safety of the constitution, that it should be increased.

HE should inculcate the absolute necessity of abolishing the only vestige of ancient distinction and independence, we have—our language—and this would afford his enemies peculiar advantage if it should seem to be done with a design of forwarding a forced conformity, instead of a voluntary conversion to religious opinions.

HE should talk largely of the persecutions suffered by himself and his clergy, (as we have already prescribed) *but he should by no means give the most distant hint of the greater persecutions suffered by the Roman Catholic clergy, from the people of their own communion—for that would be justice.*

THIS

THIS is the line I should mark out to that man whom I might be anxious to render the most unpopular in his country. I would have nothing in him equivocal or undefined. The zealot should emblazon every sentence on religion, and every political dogma should betray the courtier.

My prescription is unnecessary. *One* man has been found rash enough to venture on the world a system of reasoning and authorities, that afford his enemies all the room they could wish for, to exhibit him as an object of danger, distrust, and detestation. Accusations without proof are dangerous weapons ; for, if used with malignity, they recoil with great force on the accuser. But I will not think so hardly of the venerable person alluded to, as to say that he must be the most dangerous member of society if he fails in proving these charges, which if true, would render the subjects of them unfit for all human intercourse. The *boasted* benevolence of his heart ; the *admired* learning of his head ; the duties which in a very high and arriable rank he is *said* to have discharged, with so much dignity and applause,
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all claim for the man, a respect to which even his station could not entitle him. And I do not know whether I should wish him to read these pages, if it were not to remind him how cautious one ought to be in reasoning on light suspicions, doubtful suppositions, and remote possibilities in another's cause, when probability and suspicion afforded appearances so much stronger against his own. If in the reflections, to which I have been involuntarily led, by the nature of the subject that engaged me, something may appear too free or uncereemonious, I declare nothing is more my wish than to treat his person with respect, and his function with delicacy. But when any man submits opinions to public examination, if the mask of liberality hide the features of a zealot every lover of society has a right to strip off the disguise ; if, under the cloak of an establishment a blow be struck at the liberties of a country, every friend to that country should raise his hand in her defence.

We had witnessed the exaltation of our country from a degrading state of humble dependence,
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to the enviable eminence of freedom. We saw her liberated from the manacles that had cramped her commerce, and beheld with joyfulness and thanksgiving, the blessings of wealth and independence lying open to our view. We had examined the records of history, and they shewed us that the strength of a people like that of a house is confirmed by its union. We read in the melancholy recitals of our own story, how a great nation might suffer by its divisions ; we looked, in the blessings of unanimity and confidence, for the recovery of that station in the balance of Europe, to which by our situation, our soil, our climate, and all the inexhaustible sources of wealth with which providence has blessed us, we were entitled. We were unanimous, and we became free.—Freedom and unanimity were rendering us wealthy and respectable.—It was a moment for all that was great and good in man, to exert itself with honor and effect, in the happiest opportunity of uniting a great, but hitherto a divided people.

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WE had, in darker days, been forced to blend religion with politics, in *our* conduct toward a sect, that had frequently made *their* politics subservient to *their* religion. In all the modern distractions of Britain, and in every contest for its crown, a considerable body of the people was easily brought to join that side, from which they expected to obtain a religious ascendancy. But a brighter ray of liberality and benevolence had diffused itself amongst us. Taught prudence by misfortunes, the catholics of Ireland looked on the contemptible claim of a pretender, with indignity or indifference. The Protestant was taught confidence in a loyalty, that had been tried and was found unshaken ; and the title of brethren or of fellow-citizens displaced all the unintelligible distinctions, for which, in other times and in other countries, prejudice and zeal had shed some of the best and bravest blood in the christian world.

To continue and to promote those transcendent advantages should have been the next consideration. And a good or a prudent man would have hesitated

hesitated with caution before he would, even on reasonable grounds, have disseminated opinions that might diminish that confidence, or distract that union by which we were cemented. He would be careful to strengthen the present race of men in charity, benevolence and loyalty. And, if a great or a wise man could descend to the office, he would anxiously instil into the rising generation the same honourable and necessary principles. He would not blush to teach even lisping infancy a sacred and inviolable allegiance to his prince, and a steady attachment to his person. He would enforce an uniform obedience to the laws of his country, and he would excite an affection and reverence for that constitution, which has so peculiarly for its great object the happiness of mankind. He would lament, for the honor of human nature, that a time *had* existed when the interests of religion had been subjected to all the mischievous machinations of selfish policy: But he would exult that that æra was past. He would inculcate, with care, that the duties of morality were inseparably connected with those of religion, and that the distinctions of virtue and

vice were strengthened, not confounded, by the laws of God.

SUCH a man as this, in whom nature had blended all her kindliest influences, would glory in such an opportunity of implanting in the minds of an infant race all those principles, that form a good citizen, and strengthening them in maturer age by the example of his conduct. He would strongly enforce the duties of christian love and charity, and the Samaritan's benevolence would be his familiar exposition of the idea of a neighbour: extending to all mankind and comprehending all its distinctions.

SUCH a man, if he were a Catholic divine, would anxiously impress on the yet soft and tender mind, an honest and generous disavowal of those pernicious doctrines, that had been attributed to his religion. He would strongly insist that loving God above all things, and his neighbour as himself, the next positive and indispensable duty of a good man is a peaceful obedience to the laws of his country, and a steady allegiance

ance to his sovereign. If riots happened in his neighbourhood, and the laws were violated, he would use the only weapons in his power.—Exhortation and censure—to restore peace and order. He would inspire his flock with confidence in the wisdom of a legislature, that had already proved its liberality and justice, and in the generous magnanimity of a prince, in whom benevolence and benignity shine among the foremost of his virtues. He would point out the danger of endeavouring even by an appearance of force to obtain an extension of those immunities, which had been the reward of peaceful submission, and unreluctant loyalty ; and he would add to the immorality of such a disorderly conduct, the (perhaps) stronger objections of its impolicy, and its imprudence. If his principles were accused of disaffection, or his conduct charged with latent danger, he would refute the imputations, from whatever quarter they should come, with the decency and the dignity of injured innocence.

If a man of those amiable dispositions happen-

ed to be a divine of the established church, he would not descend so much below his dignity, as to the low invidious office of misrepresentation and obloquy. If a distressed people writhed under calamities, he would not hastily charge it on a system of religion; but with a philosophic eye would enquire for the cause in the common principles of human nature. And when he had traversed all the dreary scenes of desolation and beggary that were offered to his view, sensibility would drop a tear over those consequences of ignorance, nakedness, and want, which it would remove but not aggravate. Anxious for the public prosperity he would not watchfully embrace the moment when his country, a Protestant state, was concluding treaties of commerce and alliance with Roman Catholic powers to preach up to the world that Roman Catholics held a violation of faith with Heretics to be a duty of their religion. If he did not tremble for the effects of such an opinion *at such a time* he might blush for the shame of uttering a public falsehood in open day. If he were adventitiously one of those to whose superintendence a public system of Protestant education

cation should be committed, he would not take that fatal opportunity to plant a poison in the human mind that should corrode the peace, and destroy the endearments of society. He would not in the most dangerous season of life impress, with all the authority of religious discipline, on the susceptible fancy of the infant generation, the terrific image of a zealous monster, armed with all the weapons of bigotry and hatred, and watching for some favourable moment to destroy every blessing, and eradicate every vestige of toleration. He would not arm them, from the earliest dawn of intelligence, with so dreadful and momentous a suspicion of two millions of fellow subjects as that under the cloak of allegiance they held the dagger in one hand, and in the other an absolution for steeping it in the gore of every Protestant bosom. And if in the transactions of a particular sect at particular periods he met some instances of cruelty or persecution, which their general conduct discountenanced, and their modern conduct disclaimed, he would, in charity, attribute them to the complexion of the times or the characters of the men. If such a man found
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some unasserted pretension revived by an individual, but renounced by the body of a sect, he would generously consign the claim to that oblivion, whither its absurdity had already doomed it.

IF in the warmth of imagination some censures should escape him, hasty or unfounded, he would not, when, called on to explain them, shuffle and prevaricate, to prove by a kind of sophistry that few understand, that men may be and are virtuous, and estimable, whose principles are base.

IF some of his civil rights were denied or withheld he would seek to enforce them in a civil way : if force became necessary for the assertion of them he would use it under the sanction of the civil magistrate. But he would not boldly solicit the office of civil magistracy for himself, that he might prove how little the gospel he preached had wrought on his dispositions, and attempt to raise a blush from the more brave humanity of the military officers by shewing how a minister of peace might be more sanguinary, and vindictive than

than men whose profession was the work of slaughter.

It is a melancholy truth that those reflections should be necessary now, and no good mind can be sincerely pleased at the discrimination of character, to be made upon the illiberality with which, on one side at least, the present question has been agitated. The necessity of a religious establishment had been well supported, and the right to tythes as well as the defensebility of tythe proctors and tythe farmers, had been discussed with art and ability. The Jus Divinum had been yielded to the better authority of political institutions by a dignitary of the church ; and the doors were closed against that ridicule, to which those had been subjected, who referred the present tything system with all its corruptions and abuses to the ordinance of God. Happy had the discussion rested here, and confidence in the goodness of a cause had not suffered its advocates, " to bring forth to public notice, and impress as
" forcibly

“ forcibly as possible on the minds of Irish and
“ British Protestants of every denomination.”
Suspensions, unnecessary because groundless, and
assertions unwarrantable because untrue.

F I N I S.

